

Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly

Official Organ of the Concordia Historical Institute

801 De Mun Ave., St. Louis, Mo.

Subscription, 50 cts. per copy, \$2.00 a year, payable strictly in advance

A subscription for the QUARTERLY is included in the fees of membership in the Institute: Active, \$2.00 per annum; Sustaining, \$5.00 per annum; Life, \$100.00, single payment

Vol. III

July, 1930

No. 2

The Three Hundred Fiftieth Anniversary of the Augsburg Confession

As Celebrated by the St. Louis Congregations of the Missouri Synod in 1880.

The Editor of the QUARTERLY was fortunate enough to obtain two newspaper clippings which describe in detail the manner in which the Lutheran congregations of St. Louis observed the three hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Augsburg Confession in 1880. The German account appeared in the *Anzeiger des Westens* for Tuesday, June 29, 1880. The English account is from the *St. Louis Times* of the same date.

As our congregations are at the present time planning to observe the four-hundredth anniversary of the Augsburg Confession in a fitting manner, it will be of interest at the present time to know what our fathers did in this respect fifty years ago. We are therefore reprinting the account from the English newspaper and supplementing it with portions of the German account in order to give a complete picture.

MILES OF MEN.

Celebration of the Augsburg Jubilee by the Lutherans.

A PROCESSION FIVE MILES LONG — FROM FIFTH STREET
TO THE FAIR-GROUNDS.

A Grand Turnout of All the Churches.

A Day of Pleasure Unalloyed.

Doing honor to Martin Luther and Philip Melanchthon, immortal dead, to whom all Protestant Christians are indebted, the eleven German Evangelical Lutheran churches of St. Louis yesterday [Monday, June 28]

joined in the jubilee celebrating the 350th anniversary of the issuance of the Augsburg Confession and the 380th of the acceptance of the Concordat,¹⁾ passing the whole day in festivities, commencing with a procession in the morning, which was one of the largest ever known in the city, and ending with a picnic at the fair-grounds, where between 10,000 and 15,000 people were assembled. Festival services have been held in the churches since Thursday last, yesterday closing the jubilee, and a more auspicious day for the celebration could hardly be desired, as the sun was obscured by clouds and the heat was only moderate.²⁾

THE MEETING-PLACE.

The place chosen for the formation of the procession was Soulard Market Square, and 8 o'clock was the hour appointed for the start. The congregations of the various churches had each its own rendezvous, where it assembled and, arraying itself in order with its own band of music, marched to the Soulard Market and took its appointed place in the column. All confusion was thus avoided, and under the supervision of Mr. J. Wehring,³⁾ Grand Marshal of the day, and his aids, Messrs. J. G. Haas, E. Linderman,⁴⁾ C. F. Lange, F. Bertram, Paul Gast, Ed Klein, W. Hoffmann, H. Schenkel, Herman Ellermann, and L. Volkening, order quickly sprang from the chaos of wagons, bands of music, and carriages, which extended for many blocks around the market-place, and by 8.30 o'clock all were in marching order, the Grand Marshal gave the word of command, the bands struck up, and the head of the column commenced its march.

THE PROCESSION

was beautiful, each congregation carrying its own banner, with mottoes appropriate to the day and texts from Scripture. The wagons which joined in the march were decorated with garlands and arches of oak leaves and evergreens. Their route had been so arranged as to pass all but three of the German Lutheran churches, each one of which was decorated, and in front of each, arches of evergreen had been thrown across the street, the most beautiful among them being perhaps the one in front of Bethlehem Church on Thirteenth and Salisbury streets. A very pretty one was erected over the southern gate through which the procession passed into the fair-grounds. Marching from Soulard Market to Ninth Street, the line turned south to Lafayette and, passing Trinity Church, on Eighth and Lafayette, came out into Fourth Street, continuing in it till Washington Avenue was reached, attracting crowds to the sidewalk everywhere and presenting a beautiful appearance. Exactly two hours were

1) Should be the Formula of Concord, officially adopted by the Lutherans in 1580.

2) In the German account the information is given that on the Friday previous a celebration had been held in Trinity Church, in which Dr. Walther delivered the main sermon and the pastor of the congregation, the Rev. O. Hanser, preached a second sermon. In the evening of that day all Lutheran churches of St. Louis conducted festival services.

3) Should be Mr. Charles Wehking.

4) Should be J. Lindemann.

occupied in passing the corner of Fourth Street and Washington Avenue, and just as the last wagons were passing the Lindell Hotel, a telegram⁵⁾ was received from the fair-grounds, saying that the mounted police at the head of the column were entering the gate, the procession being in anything but a straight line, its march being a sinuous one, lying from Washington Avenue to Sixteenth Street, Sixteenth to Morgan, Morgan to Seventeenth, Seventeenth to Biddle, Biddle to Fifteenth, Fifteenth to Wright, Wright to Fourteenth, Fourteenth to Eleventh, Eleventh to Destrehan, Destrehan to Thirteenth, Thirteenth to Salisbury, and Salisbury to the entrance of the grounds.

ALL IN LINE.

As seen on the march, the procession presented a sight to be remembered. Clearing the way in front was a detachment of Captain Fox's best-looking mounted police under command of Sergeant Floereich,⁶⁾ followed by the full Arsenal Band. Following the marshals on foot, Messrs. A. Detzer and T. Lamprecht, came the visitors, the Collinsville (Ill.) Young Men's Association, the Lutheran congregation of Edwardsville, Ill., the congregation of Troy, Ill., and the young men's society from Kimmswick.⁷⁾ Next came the students of Concordia College and Concordia High School in handsome gray uniform and black caps, under charge of Profs. Berg and Kaepfel.⁸⁾ The students numbered about 150. Next marched the marshal of the St. Louis Evangelical Lutheran Young Men's Association, Mr. C. H. F. Rohlfing⁹⁾ and his aids, Messrs. Henry Schaefering, Benj. Hoffmann, Aug. Kalbfleisch, Fred Stockho, Ferdinand Uhlig, and George Graichen. The associations had in line nearly 600 men and marched to the music of the Immanuel Band and the St. Louis Orchestra. Then on foot came the male members of each Lutheran congregation, headed each by its own band and marshal. Bethlehem Congregation, of Thirteenth and Salisbury, and St. Paul's, of Lowell, numbering 200 men, were under command of Mr. B. Weber. In regular order, as mentioned, came after them: Trinity Congregation of Eighth and Lafayette, G. G. Berg marshal and Messrs. Ferd. Gehring and Wm. Tehe aids; Christ Congregation of Compton Hill, thirty in number; Immanuel Congregation of Sixteenth and Morgan, 150 members in line, Marshals W. L. Rohlfing and H. Von Behrens; Holy Cross Congregation of Miami and Clara streets, Marshal Henry Kalbfleisch; Zion Congregation, Fifteenth and Warren streets, 150 in number, and Bethania Congregation in wagons, the two having Mr. Geo. Beckman as marshal. Then came the schools of all the above-mentioned congregations in wagons, the Bethlehem School filling twelve; the St. Paul's, three, the Trinity, nine; Immanuel, ten; Church

5) NOTE. — No telephone service, but telegraph. To-day a parade of that kind would be announced to the general public over the radio.

6) The German account gives the sergeant's name as Trorlicht.

7) Missouri.

8) The German account states that the Seminary students wore black suits and the Concordia High School students gray and that each wore a jubilee medal.

9) The German account has H. P. Rohlfing.

of the Holy Ghost¹⁰⁾ School, five; and Zion School, twelve wagons, all of them profusely decorated with evergreens, flags, and mottoes.¹¹⁾ The churches and their schools numbered about 1,200 individuals in this part of the procession.¹²⁾

BRAIN AND BEAUTY.

Behind them came the carriage containing President C. F. W. Walther, of Concordia College and theological seminaries [?]; the professors of the institution and the home and visiting clergymen, among whom were Rev. Bartels, of the Beckville church; Rev. M. A. F. Hein, of Bethania Church; Rev. E. O. Lenk; Rev. E. M. Koehler, of Christ Church; Rev. G. Stoeckhardt, of Church Zum Heiligen Kreuz; Rev. Otto Hanser, of Trinity; Rev. J. F. Buenger, of Immanuel; Rev. C. C. E. Brandt, of St. Paul's; Rev. C. Sapper, of Carondelet; and Rev. G. Link, of Zion.

The young ladies of the congregations in carriages came next, dressed almost without exception in pure white. They with their mothers and relatives, who did not care to make the long journey from Soulard Market to the fair-grounds on foot, occupied 276 carriages; and after them came a long train of wagons in which were the Trinity Congregation of Carondelet, the Ebenezer Congregation of Baden, and the Minertown congregation, whose vehicles, with the others in the rear of the parade, made a line nearly two miles long.

AT THE FAIR-GROUNDS.

As the procession reached the fair-grounds, it broke up and scattered over them, a two hours' rest being given. It was 1.30 o'clock in the afternoon before all were in. Collecting around the music stand, which was handsomely decorated, 1,000 picked singers and 200 musicians sent heavenward the strains of the favorite hymn "A Mighty Fortress Is Our God," the effect of so many voices and instruments joining together in almost perfect harmony among the trees being magnificent. The Germans as a class are not a speech-loving or a speech-making people, and the trait was strikingly illustrated during the evening. Had the celebration been an Irish or an American one, there would have been at least two hours

10) Should be Holy Cross.

11) Such as: —

*Gottes Wort und Luthers Lehr'
Vergehen nun und nimmermehr.*

Das Wort sie sollen lassen stahn.

*Lasset die Kindlein zu mir kommen und wehret ihnen nicht,
denn ihrer ist das Himmelreich. (Matthaeus 19, Vers 14.)*

Luthers Katechismus, von ihm verfasst vor 350 Jahren.

*Herr Gott, erhalt uns fuer und fuer
Die reine Katechismuslehr',
Der jungen, einfaeltigen Welt
Durch deinen Luther fuergestellt.*

12) The German account states that the large number of wagons — there were over a hundred — with the many children offered a beautiful sight. These many little boys and girls made an extraordinarily favorable impression on the public; nearly all girls were dressed in white.

of speeches, to which no one would care to listen. The Lutheran addresses, one in German, by Caspar Doersch,¹³⁾ and another in English, by John Schaller, both speakers being students of Concordia College, occupied about half an hour. Mr. Schaller gave an interesting history of the Augsburg Confession and told the reasons which the Lutherans have for celebrating the anniversary of the promulgation. Next to the Word of God, he said, the Augsburg Confession had been the most efficient means of freeing men from spiritual oppression and of keeping them free. It found them oppressed and brought them freedom; if it were suffered to fall into oblivion, oppression might return. Losing it, the Church would be defenseless. Bearing these things in mind, who will say that the 28th of June is not to be kept as a memorial day and a day of rejoicing? ¹⁴⁾

The speech in German was very brief and was of the same tenor with that in English. The singing of the *Concordia-Jubellied*,¹⁵⁾ written by Professor Schaller for the occasion, closed the set services, and the immense crowd dispersed themselves over the grounds, enjoying themselves after their own fashion, until the approach of evening sent them to their homes and closed one of the largest and most successful religious demonstrations which St. Louis ever witnessed.¹⁶⁾

We are much interested in proper church publicity in our day. The account given above attests that our sainted fathers were aware of its importance also. The following excerpts from St. Louis newspapers indicate that the local press took a real interest in the celebration.

On Monday morning, June 28, the *Missouri Republican*, page 2, car-

13) The German account gives Dorst. Should be Dorsch.

14) Should be the 25th of June.

15) CONCORDIA-JUBELLIED: —

*Jauchze voll Freude, o Christenheit, rühme die Werke,
Die Gott den Vaetern erzeigt mit allmaechtiger Staerke!
Er hat befreit
Zion aus Jammer und Leid,
Dasz seine Wunder man merke.*

*Lobe den Herren, der sein Wort so rein uns gegeben,
Laeszt uns fuer Menschentand predigen Christum, das Leben!
Der Glaube ruht
In dem versoehnnenden Blut,
Vor dem die Hoelle musz beben.*

*Lobe den Herren, der liesz in den heiszesten Tagen
Seine Bekenner vor Kaiser und Reich nicht verzagen!
Gebe er Mut,
Dasz auch wir Leben und Gut
Treu dem Bekenntnisse wagen!*

*Singet dem Herren, der Himmel und Erde regieret,
Seine Gemeinde beschirmet und gnaediglich fuehret!
Sein ist das Reich,
Sein die Kraft, ihm auch zugleich
Herrlichkeit ewig gebuehret.*

16) The German account adds that there were present perhaps 20,000 people, but that in spite of the large assembly the finest order prevailed; that Mayor Overstolz and the Speaker of the Lower House, Mr. Mariott, were present on the fair-grounds as guests of the festival committee.

ried a news article on the "Lutheran Jubilee" in the churches on Sunday. It reported especially the address by the Rev. Otto Hanser in Old Trinity on the topic, "What Reasons Have We for Rejoicing on This Occasion?" (Rev. Hanser stressed two points: first, because we possess the Augustana, which demonstrates the apostolic origin of the Lutheran Church; and secondly, because we possess the Book of Concord, whose symbols have been the means of preserving the old apostolic faith.)

The *Missouri Republican*, Tuesday morning, June 29, 1880, page 5, had a long (forty inches) and interesting report on the "Lutheran Jubilee" of Monday.

The *St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat*, Tuesday morning, June 29,



Dr. C. F. W. Walther's Carriage,
which formed a part of the parade here described.

1880, brings a long and comprehensive news article on "A Faith's Fete-day," setting forth in detail the entire celebration of Monday. The article is over two columns in length.

On page four occurs the following editorial: "The German Lutheran procession and celebration yesterday were greatly creditable to those engaged in the interesting ceremonies. Such a gathering, for order, intelligence, and everything that contributes to the suitable commemoration of a great event in religious history, is rarely seen in any city. We congratulate all who participated in any way in the demonstration upon having conducted themselves in a spirit and manner worthy of the great founder of their faith."

The *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* of Sunday, June 20, 1880, page 4, had the following editorial: —

"At the rate at which the world is going on in the matter of anniversaries and celebrations, centennial and millennial, it will soon be in the

condition of the church in Catholic countries, where there are occasionally more saints to claim feast-days than there are days in the year. Nevertheless an occasion which will hold its own right worthily and which cannot be commemorated too heartily is the celebration this week of the 350th anniversary of the Lutheran confession of faith, a document which was on the 25th of June, 1530, presented to the Emperor Charles V by Philip Melancthon, the Thomas Jefferson of this Protestant Declaration of Independence, called by Luther Philip Kleinmuth, or Philip the Timid. Most timidly, but irrevocably [?] did he present it to the emperor in the diet at the imperial city of Augsburg, from which it is called the Augsburg Confession, and the event claims a wider admiration than merely from those who subscribe to the doctrines of the creed.

"Augsburg is said to be the finest city of the world in spite of modern improvements, which have turned the historical castle of the Fuggers into a first-class hotel and which have destroyed many of the picturesque features of the medieval time. We need hardly say that to the Lutherans it is more than a mystic City of Zion, for its walls first heard and held the truth by which they live, and certainly its towers and battlements, its narrow streets and lofty palaces, presented a magnificent appearance on the 15th of June, 1530, when the emperor, accompanied by his brother, King Ferdinand, and the temporal spiritual princes of Austria and Bavaria, made his triumphal entry into Augsburg to meet the electors and princes of the empire. Its streets were gay with banners and hangings, and crowds, arrayed in all the richness of color and grace of form which made up the costumes of the Middle Ages, turned out to marvel at the imperial procession. First came the *landsknechts* of the emperor, who had charge of the city during the sessions of the diet, after them the mounted guard of the six great electors, first the Saxons numbering 160 horsemen, all nobles and courtiers, with the prince elector at their head, then the horsemen of the Palatinate, Brandenburg, Coburg, Cologne, Mayence, and Treves, each company bearing its own heraldic blazon and armor. After them the Bavarians crowded in 500 horsemen, all clad in rich armor, with red surcoats and white, waving plumes, and then came the peaceful convoy of the emperor — pages in red and yellow velvet and gray, gray-bearded lords of Spain and Bohemia, all richly clad in silk and velvet and all accompanied by pages, esquires, and lackeys, but all unarmed. Then came the two sovereigns.

"The emperor was not long in making the issue. As soon as the flummery of the procession and reception was over, he invited the Protestant princes into a private room and then abruptly told them that they should put an end to the preaching of the new doctrines. Argument was silenced at once by the voice of authority, and then the venerable Margrave George of Brandenburg spoke out: 'Sire, rather than renounce God's Word, I would kneel down on this spot before you to have my head cut off.' The emperor, alarmed and unprepared, hastily answered: 'No heads off! No heads off!' He thought imprisonment would suffice for his purpose, but many heads were destined to be lost before the question was settled whether the Gospel should be freely read and preached and the people be left free to put such interpretations on it as to them seemed good.

"It does not matter whether the Lutheran confession of faith is the absolute and only truth, nor does it much matter that in the subsequent

clash of creeds and swords Lutheran princes and Lutheran preachers were found using the weapons of persecution to suppress that principle of freedom to which they were committed. Their mission was to break a chain which held the soul and the conscience in a blind and hopeless slavery, and they broke it. The confession which was signed by the electors and theologians was a challenge to ecclesiastical tyranny, the gage of a battle in which the power of priest and Church went down, never to rise again. Never again will the civilized world sink to that subjection which it knew before the days of Luther; never will its strength be enslaved by the authority which was defied at Augsburg. It was a brave deed, a great service to the world. We have called it a declaration of independence; it was more than that; it was a proclamation of freedom throughout the domain of religion and in the kingdom of the soul, and the freedom it gave has never been lost, but has gained and grown with each succeeding year until it covers the earth, and there is not a land where freedom of opinion is respected which may not contribute with grateful emotions to the celebration of the Augsburg Confession."

In the *Globe-Democrat* on Sunday, June 27, 1880, page 16, the *Western Catholic* is quoted as saying: "The Augsburg Confession is entitled to share in the respect we give the tower of Babel and other venerable absurdities." Further on the same article continues thus: "On Sunday, to-day, the Lutherans of this city will celebrate the seventh semicentenary of the Augsburg Confession. We have much to say to the Lutherans as a class. They are devoted adherents of religious education. They are strict churchgoers. They are the most temperate people of Germany. They observe the Sunday religiously. They insist on certain articles of faith and exact strict discipline. They have good colleges and are not afraid of inquiry. Many Lutheran preachers have come into the Church. Father Filling, the Jesuit, was a Lutheran preacher; Bishop Becker, of Wilming-ton, was a Lutheran preacher. And many others could be named who have become exemplary clergymen and laics in the Church. The Lutherans are doing for Protestantism in Germany what the Oxford men are doing for it in England. They are taking out national pride and putting in common sense and piety in its stead."

W. G. P.

The Three-Hundredth Anniversary of the Augsburg Confession in Saxony, 1830,

And Its Bearing on the History of American Lutheranism.

By THEO. GRAEBNER, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis.

The story of the jubilee of 1830 was told in the April issue of our QUARTERLY. It remains that we study in detail the observance of the centennial in Saxony, since it casts an almost lurid light upon church conditions then prevailing in the home of the Reformation, conditions that must be listed among the causes of the Saxon emigration in 1838 under the leadership of Rev. Martin Stephan. The reader owes these data to the research of Rev. Theo. M. Stephan, of Chicago, who has placed at our dis-

posals his (German) manuscript notes together with a very complete bibliography.

Our former article stressed the great advance of rationalism during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Saxony was not an exception. The situation was complicated by the Jesuitical influences that emanated from the (Catholic) court of Saxony. There was considerable polemics between Jesuitical pamphleteers, who were demanding full equality for Catholicism in the kingdom of Saxony, and their Protestant opponents, notably Professors Krug and Tzschirner of the University of Leipzig. The situation became intensified through a circular letter of Pope Leo XII, who had in 1824 announced an indulgence to all who would make a pilgrimage to Rome and pray for the destruction of the Evangelical heresy. When a copy of this document was attached to the walls of the *Hofkirche* in Dresden, it produced mingled feelings of consternation and wrath among the Protestants, intensified by the attitude of the Protestant government authorities, which forbade all "attacks upon the doctrine of the Catholic Church and offensive references to the papal chair." Even the assurances of the new king, Anton, that the Evangelical majority was to be upheld in its rights, did not remove the depression caused by these events.

The year of jubilee approached. Dresden and the kingdom were preparing a celebration that was to emphasize the religious value of the Reformation. Not indeed in the sense of Luther and with the object of stressing the ancient Biblical truth of the Augustana (Saxony was too thoroughly rationalistic to foster any such movement), but of emphasizing the "freedom of the spirit" over against Roman tyranny and the need of progress in the true conception of religion. There was to be a solid front of Protestants against Roman propaganda. That the (Catholic) royal court did not take part in these preparations was only self-evident. But also the officialdom both in Dresden and in the kingdom refused all participation in the jubilee. The situation became very strained when a royal rescript was published which prohibited the publication, in print, without special license, of any sermons or addresses made in connection with the jubilee. Permission for such publication had to be obtained from the court. Evangelical preachers were admonished to avoid all "passionate and unseemly references" to the opponents of the Augsburg Confession. Some local authorities even forbade any public celebration of the jubilee. The entire country was in a state of ferment through these regulations.

The twenty-fifth of June happened upon a Friday. A celebration of three days had been projected. The official pronouncement had thrown all plans into confusion, which was heightened by the fanaticism of local officials who in Leipzig prohibited an illumination and in Dresden commanded all inhabitants to return to their homes at 10 p. m. on the second day of the jubilee. Soldiers and policemen arrested those found on the streets after this hour.

The spineless attitude of the Lutheran preachers was evident in the addresses delivered during the festival services. Not a word of reproach for the tyrannical orders of the government. Much admonition to maintain peace among the various confessions. But the popular indignation did not fail to seek expression, especially in Dresden, particularly when it was

noted how sedulously the officials refrained from participation in the services and programs. It was noted that the windows of the *Rathaus* were not illuminated. From an open window in the market-place were heard the strains of "A Mighty Fortress"; but when the musician, who was a Catholic, followed it up immediately with a well-known topical song (*Gassenhauer*), the crowd which had gathered at the strains of the hymn became a raging mob, and the offending musician barely escaped with his life. The crowd surged through the streets singing hymns and shouting hurrahs for Gustavus Adolphus and other protectors of the Reformation.



Johanneskirche in Dresden.

The tumult extended to the *Neustadt*, and the police were unable to control the crowds. On the next day the militia was called out to suppress the disorders. So greatly incensed was the populace that more serious disorders of a political nature followed, which led to the change of the Saxon constitution which made the kingdom a constitutional monarchy.

A celebration of an altogether different character was that which marked the jubilee out at Pirna, a suburb of Dresden—simple, serious, spiritual, and in harmony with the meaning of the jubilee. Here was the St. Johannis Church, of which Rev. Martin Stephan was the pastor. On the eve of the jubilee the men and women of the congregation gathered at the parsonage and at the school to make garlands of artificial flowers and to erect triumphal gates and arches. Mrs. Stephan worked until late at

night in placing these decorations. At 5 o'clock in the morning the entire congregation was in the yard of the parsonage and thence marched to the church while the bells were ringing and the children were singing hymns. Stephan's daughter, Marie, aged twelve, led the procession, bearing on a pillow of red silk a fine edition of the Augsburg Confession. Others mentioned in this connection bear names well known in the Missouri Synod: Clementine Heyne, Christian Koethe, Emma Boehne, Anna Tirmenstein, Karolina Estel, and Rosine Schuricht, all bearing flower-pieces and garlands. The girls were dressed in white and wore green sashes. Old Cantor Janck led the boys. Immediately behind him Pastor Stephan's little Martin, age seven, in white pants and black jacket, wearing a golden chain with jubilee medal, and upon a red pillow a de luxe edition of Luther's Catechism, followed by Traugott and Johann Schuricht, and the other boys of the school. Then came the young people of the congregation, again names that have become familiar in Missouri Synod history: Joh. Sam. Guenther, Vehse, Lehrer Gesell, Helwig, Estel, Tirmenstein, Ferdinand Fischer. Finally Pastor Stephan, wearing the ministerial gown, with Candide Poeschel, who bore on a silken pillow a copy of the Book of Concord in de luxe binding. In the church the books were deposited, with their pillows, upon the altar. Glowing in the rays of the rising sun was a newly donated crucifix with the inscription: *Crux Christi Nostra Gloria*. Stephan preached on Gal. 6, 14 and pointed out the ravages caused by rationalism and the need of clinging to the doctrine of salvation by grace, "even though the world reward us with scorn, ridicule, or even persecution."



Now let us turn to the celebration of the jubilee in that great center of culture and home of the even then famous University of Leipzig. Preparations for a notable observance had been made. A great procession was to be held. The students were to be dressed in their picturesque and historic uniforms representing the four "Nations."* Permission to wear these uniforms, which had become obsolete through a recent reorganization of the university, had been granted by the rector, Professor Krug, who, however, had failed to obtain the consent of the royal commissary, Chief Justice von Ende. That official was absent from the city and returned only on the eve of the celebration. When apprized of the preparations, he prohibited the participation of the students if they insisted on wearing their historic uniforms; otherwise, he said, he could not take part in the procession; besides, he would have to obtain the consent of the authorities in Dresden. A few hours later he made a concession by permitting the wearing of uniforms by two of the "Nations"; but this failed to pacify the other students, who out of their meager funds had provided the expensive garments. The procession was a failure. The children were not permitted to participate, the city mayor being of the opinion that "there are enough celebrations as it is."

We are not surprised to hear that these repressions led to serious disturbances. A hostile demonstration took place at von Ende's residence on

* Corresponding to our dormitories and Greek-letter clubs.

the evening of June 25. On the next morning the corpse of a young man, Gottschalch, an office clerk, was found, and his death immediately was laid at the door of the police. Two physicians had been arrested when on their way to visit a patient. Excitement rose to dangerous heights. Krug barely prevented the students from organizing a mob together with the office clerks in order to lynch Chief Justice von Ende. The entire populace of Leipzig attended the funeral of young Gottschalch. The police was not to be seen. Thus ended the Leipzig celebration of the Augsburg Confession jubilee of 1830.

The temper of the age was not favorable to the true appreciation of the Augsburg Confession. As a step forward in the development of Evangelical doctrine and as an assertion of personal liberty, yes; but the theology of the day had too far departed from the spirit of the Reformation to permit any true appreciation of its doctrine. In a former article we submitted samples of the anticonfessional attitude of the celebrants. The Augsburg Confession was regarded as, in a great part, obsolete and subscription to it as an unwarranted demand in the enlightened days of 1830. It is Stephan's merit to have insisted in his homeland of Saxony on a whole-hearted acceptance of the Lutheran Confessions. He was treated as an obscurantist, who insisted upon "a rigid adherence to the letter of the Bible and the Confessions" in his conflict with the "pillars of theological science," to quote Superintendent Heymann, of Dresden. He had republished the Augsburg Confession as early as 1822 as an appendix to the St. Petersburg Catechism which he had newly edited at the request of Count Einsiedel. He had insisted upon confessional subscription against Bretschneider (see quotations in our former article). It was Stephan's emphasis on historic Lutheranism that caused the court preacher von Ammon to publish his *Fortbildung des Christentums zur Weltreligion*. Reacting upon this crass piece of rationalism, Stephan arranged a reading circle for the study of the Book of Concord. In this circle, which later met at the home of Teacher Hellwig, were gathered interested laymen of his congregation and also candidates of theology and teachers. Ammon played out his trump-card when he caused the Dresden authorities in 1836 to close these meetings on the grounds that they constituted a "religious conventicle." It was partly due to this system of oppression that Stephan and his followers determined to leave their homeland and to seek a country which granted religious liberty. The result was the Saxon emigration to Perry County, Missouri, in 1838.

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 Herzog, *Real-Enzyklopaedie*. I. Auflage, Bd. 19, s. v. "Ammon"; Bd. 15, s. v. "Stephan."
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Rathausakten betreffs Pastors Stephan.

A Unique Testimonial.

The Institute has received a document, yellowed with age, but in good condition, that is of interest in connection with the foregoing article, in which Professor Graebner shows the strict orthodox Lutheran confessionalism of Rev. Martin Stephan, the leader of the Saxon emigrants. This document is a testimonial in verse drawn up by faithful members of Stephan's congregation in which they express their confidence in him and their gratitude and love toward him for his ministry. It is dated August 13, 1838. It is a sixteen-page pamphlet, including a plain cover of lavender-colored paper, $8\frac{1}{2} \times 10\frac{1}{2}$ inches, hand-written. The title-page is a splendid specimen of hand-lettering. Whether ours is the original cannot be determined, but it is very likely.

A reprint of the contents follows: —

Ihrem
 Hochverehrten und inniggeliebten
 Seelforger

dem von Teufel und Welt hart verfolgten, aber durch die Gnade des Herrn
 Jesu Christi sieghaften Glaubenshelden

dem Ehrwürdigem Herrn Pastor

Martin Stephan

twidmen diese geringen Worte des Dankes und der Liebe

zu Dessen Geburtstage im Jahre der Erlösung
 den 13. August 1838

Dessen Treuergebene Gemeindeglieder

Nehmet eure Harfen von den Weiden,
 Ihr an den Wassern Babylon,
 Erhebt das Herz mit hohen Freuden
 Zu Jesu Christi Gnadenthron;
 Ihr sollt nicht ferner dort noch weinen,
 Sein Gnadenlicht soll wieder scheinen.

Ja, Freudenthränen lasset rinnen,
 Legt ab der Trauer düstres Kleid,
 Daß wir das hohe Fest beginnen,
 Da Gottes Huld und Freundlichkeit
 So gnädig seines Knechts gedenket
 Und ihm ein neues Jahr geschenket.

Second page.

Es sind von Deines Lebens Jahren
Nun einundsechzig schon vollbracht;
Wer kennt das Leid, das Du erfahren,
Und wie es Gott so wohl gemacht!
So kann's die Freude jetzt nicht stören;
Nein, nein, es kann sie nur vermehren.

Der Erde Noth hast Du ertragen,
Der Seele schwere Angst gefühlt,
Du hatt'st der Kirche Fall zu klagen,
Die Jesus Christ durch Dich erhielt,
Die Heerde Christi auch zu weiden
Und als sein Streiter Dich zu leiden.

Doch hat der Herr Dich stets errettet,
Dich wunderbar hindurchgeführt,
Daß, wenn sich Leid an Leid gekettet,
Es edlen Perlen gleich Dich ziert;
Die Weiden, die Du hast zu zählen,
Sind Deine edlen Kronjuwelen.

Third page.

Der Himmel wird einst offenbaren
Die schönste, die darinnen glänzt,
Wenn Du dort unter sel'gen Schaaren
Wirfst triumphiren siegbekränzt,
Wenn Dich der Herr zum ew'gen Lohne
Wird krönen mit der Himmelskrone.

O welchen Glanz wird Dir bereiten
Das letztvergangne Trauerjahr,
Da alle Fluthen schwerer Weiden
Dich überströmten immerdar,
Da wider Dich mit Macht vereinte
Der Teufel alle Bifelseinde!

O Herr, dein Zion liegt darnieder,
Dein Lutherthum ist gar verstört;
Wo du uns gabst der Gnade Güter,
Wird nun kein Gotteswort gehört;
Die Sakramente sind geraubet,
Der Teufel und die Hölle schnaubet.

Fourth page.

Die Seelen gehn nun in der Wüste,
Sie schmachten nach des Lebens Quell;
Was ihren Kummer stets versüßte,
Das Licht, das ihnen schien so hell,
Die Weide, Pflege, Brod des Lebens,
Das suchen sie jezund vergebens.

Doch, Herr, was wir für Leid erfahren,
Verdienen wir, du bist gerecht,
Da wir dir ungehorsam waren,
Nicht folgten deinem treuen Knecht.
O Jesu, tilge unsre Sünden
Und laß bei dir uns Gnade finden!

Du willst ja nicht den Tod der Sünder;
Wenn wir nur deine Wege gehn,
So willst du retten deine Kinder,
Sie sollen deine Hülfe sehn;
Drum rette, rette unsre Seelen,
Die wir dir ganz und gar befehlen!

Fifth page.

Nun, daß der Herr noch an uns denket,
Mit herzlicher Barmherzigkeit,
Dies sehen wir, da er uns schenket
Und uns erhält in dieser Zeit
Den treuen Engel der Gemeinde
Zum Troß und Ärger aller Feinde.

Ob Pharao Ihn grausam plaget,
Ob Sanherib Ihn auch Hohn lacht,
Ob Haman wider Ihn rathsplaget,
Und Caiphas Ihn falsch verflagt,
Ob alles gegen Ihn anstürmet:
Der Herr der Herrlichkeit Ihn schirmet.

Die Feinde sind längst überwunden;
Triumph, Triumph, Victoria!
Der Herr hat selbst sie überwunden,
Der starke Löwe von Juda;
Mit ihm hast Du sie auch besieget,
O theurer Mann, der für uns krieget.

Sixth page.

Doch warum kämpfst Du und leidest?
Wir wissen es, um Gottes Wort,
Mit welchem Du uns hast geweiht,
Damit die Kirche fort und fort,
Der wahre Glaub' und Sacramente
Bestehen bis ans letzte Ende.

O welchen Dank soll man Dir geben
Für deine Weiden, Kampf und Müh'?
Mein Herz soll Dir in diesem Leben,
O Theurer, folgen spät und früh,
Bis ich im reichen Himmelsaale
Vollkommen Dir den Dank bezahle.

Nun wird sich wohl Dein Kampf bald enden,
Gott hat der Weiden Ziel gesetzt,
Und Jesus wird Dir Ruhe finden,
Daß sich Dein Herz darin ergötzt;
Du wirst aus Babylon bald gehen
Und dann der Kirche Glanz noch sehen.

Seventh page.

Gott stehet auch im Jorn zu richten
Die Feinde, die ihm widerstehn,
Und die ihn hasßen zu vernichten,
Daß sie zu ihrem Schrecken sehn,
Die wider ihn sich feindlich rotten,
Daß Gott der Herr sich nicht läßt spotten.

Doch hat der Herr auch schon gesehen
Dich Gottesmann, daß wir mit Dir
In Noahs Arche sollen gehn
Und unter Christi Siegespanier
Der großen Trübsal bald entfliehen
Der in ein Segensland einziehen.

Dort wird der Herr in Gnaden weiden
Das Volk, das seinen Namen kennt,
Der Heil'ge Christ wird sie dann leiten
Durch Predigt, Wort und Sacrament;
Da wird er seine Gaben spenden
Und sich in Gnaden zu uns wenden.

Eighth page.

So wirft Du Zion wieder bauen
Durch Jesu Christi gute Hand;
Du sollst der Kirche Schöne schauen,
Wo Gott der Herr ist wohlbekannt;
Du sollst nach Deinen vielen Leiden
Noch schmecken viele große Freuden.

Mit diesen Wünschen wir geleiten
Dich in Dein neues Lebensjahr;
Gott wolle über Dich ausbreiten
Trost, Gnade, Frieden immerdar,
Daß Du den Satan untertrestest;
Er schenke, was Du selber betest!

Oft möge sich dies Fest erneuen,
Doch, helfe Gott! in Kanaan,
So wollen wir uns noch mehr freuen
Und neue Lieder stimmen an;
Dann wird das Lob mit neuen Jungen
Gott Vater, Sohn und Geist gesungen.

W. G. P.

The Early History of the Wendic Lutheran Colony in the State of Texas.

By PROF. P. E. KRETZMANN.

It was shortly before the middle of the third century that the Goths, a Germanic tribe, which had occupied a large part of what was later Eastern Germany, on the Baltic Sea, between the Oder and the Elbe, began a great movement toward the southeast, down the Danube Valley and into the eastern part of the Roman Empire, eventually occupying large parts of Thrace, Dacia, and Moesia, and subsequently moving westward through the countries along the Mediterranean countries. The land along the Baltic, which was thus left open, was soon occupied by a Slavic tribe, which completed its occupation of this country by about 600 A. D. This was the Wendic tribe, belonging to the West Slavonic branch of the Windic class of Aryans. The parts of Germany occupied by the larger part of this tribe were Thuringia, the Lausitz, and the Mark Brandenburg. The Sorbian strain of the Wendic race was Christianized with little trouble, and most of them, far more than 100,000 accepted the Reformation before the end of the sixteenth century. There were also quite a few staunch Lutherans among them during the next centuries.

When, in 1817, the Prussian government decreed the union of the Lutheran and the Reformed churches, the situation soon became unbearable to the faithful adherents of Luther. Obedience to the order of the government in many cases meant the denial of the truth, not to mention other unfortunate consequences. One of the staunch confessors of those days, Pastor John Kilian, wrote concerning the oppression which came upon the Lutherans: "What the decrees and bulls of the Roman Pope are, namely, statutes of men intended to enslave souls, such are also the cabinet orders of the pope of Berlin, the king of Prussia, according to which the Evangelical Lutheran Church, since the year 1830, has been violated with regard to the society rights guaranteed by the Peace of Westphalia and robbed of its earthly goods. By these regal cabinet orders, by which, arbitrarily and violently, a new church or a church of confusion has been made, the faithful Lutherans in Prussia have been placed in such distress that they are seriously suffering, no matter whether they leave the Church of the king

or remain in it. This is the reason for the strong desire to emigrate, which takes hold even of pious souls."

The last words of this statement indicates that a necessity was practically laid upon those who were faithful and refused to yield to the decree violating the consciences. It is not surprising therefore that thirty Wendic Lutherans from Prussia left the home of their fathers and immigrated to America via Bremen. This was in 1853. Their boat was wrecked on the shores of Cuba, but they managed to save their lives and to reach their destination, the State of Texas, which five years before had been ceded to the United States by Mexico. So favorably were the immigrants impressed by the country where they settled that they soon wrote letters to relatives and friends in the Old Country, urging them to follow their example and to come to the land of liberty, where religious freedom was guaranteed to all. The result of these letters was that a congregation was organized at Dauban, Prussia, in March of 1854, consisting of about 200 Lutherans from various sections of Wendic Prussia and Saxony. In the course of the next months this congregation grew to 500 souls, all of them determined to immigrate to a country where they could live according to the dictates of their conscience, without the galling oppression of a Caesaropapism which did not know the real meaning of Lutheranism.

The congregation was anxious to have a pastor who would be a true and staunch leader in the great undertaking which lay before the emigrants. Their unanimous choice was Pastor John Kilian. This faithful servant of the Lord was born March 22, 1811, at Dahlen, in the Saxon Lausitz (Lusatia). Since he was the only heir of his father, he had the means to study and therefore attended the *Gymnasium* at Bautzen. He studied theology at Leipzig, for he had planned from early youth to become a pastor. After completing his studies, in 1834, he entered the ministry, becoming assistant pastor to Pastor Moehne, of Hochkirch. When this service came to an end, he strongly considered the possibility of going to India as missionary. He even made the trip to Basel, then the great center of missionary training. But when he arrived at Basel, he received the information that his uncle, Pastor Michael Kilian, of Kotitz, Saxony, had died and that he was expected to attend the funeral. The congregation at Kotitz called him as pastor, and he was privileged to serve from 1837 to 1848, doing work in both Wendic and German. He was also active in a literary way, for he translated Luther's Large Catechism, the Augsburg Confession, a book for the use of communicants, and other writings into the language of the Wendic people. In 1846 he issued a sermon in Wendic, which was also translated into German. It bore the title "The Care Required of Lutheran Christians in the Present State of Confessional Confusion. A serious word addressed to the Lutheran people." Three points were emphasized by the author of this sermon (and pamphlet), namely, the Christian foundation: justification by faith alone, the Holy Scriptures as the Word of God, and the confessions of the Lutheran Church. The trumpet of true Lutheranism here gave a most certain sound.

Meanwhile the oppression spoken of above became worse from year to year. In 1848 Pastor Kilian accepted a call of two free Lutheran congregations, at Weigersdorf and Klitten, Prussia. He also took care of many

smaller assemblies of faithful Lutherans as far south as Wittenberg, a total of eighteen stations. The authorities did not hinder his work outright, though they often made it as unpleasant as possible for him. But one can well imagine that the thought of leaving conditions which were so irksome came to Kilian and many faithful hearts with increasing frequency.

This preliminary history explains why the call which Pastor Kilian received on May 23, 1854, was so important in itself and so far-reaching in its consequences. We can also understand why the document closed with the words: "May the Lord grant us all His Holy Spirit that we may remain in love toward Him and our beloved pastor, until finally we shall all end this pilgrimage and enter into His heavenly kingdom, where we, with our dear pastor, shall praise and worship Him in all eternity. Amen." The call received the following signatures: Karl Lehmann, Karl Teinert,



Rev. John Kilian



Rev. H. T. Kilian

Ernst Adolph Moerbe, Johann Hohle, Christoph Kockel, and Johann Urban.

The call was accepted by Pastor Kilian, and the 500 souls composing the party under his spiritual direction left their old home in September, 1854, by way of Hamburg and Liverpool. We quote from an interesting account of Johann Teinert, one of the members of the congregation: "Several people have asked me how it had happened that the whole congregation immigrated to America. It was not the entire congregation whose pastor Johann Kilian was. A new congregation was formed by people from various villages and stations where Pastor Kilian preached. From these places the people came together and had various meetings, most frequently at Karl Lehmann's and at my father's, Karl Teinert's. It was in the year 1854 when the congregation was organized. That same year we traveled by railroad to Hamburg, where the sailors had two ships ready for us. But the people wanted to stay together on one ship. Then the

sailors arranged for a big ship, called *Ben Nevis*, which was at Liverpool, England. We rode to England on a steamship. . . . Meanwhile the cholera had broken out [in Liverpool], and many had become ill. We boarded the ship and sailed away. I do not know how long we were on board of this ship. Because of the many cases of sickness our boat went to the harbor of Queenstown, Ireland. Here we had to leave our ship and embark on another while our ship was washed and fumigated. It took a long time to do all this. Then we boarded our ship again and set sail for America. . . . One afternoon a great storm came up, which threatened to break our ship to pieces. Four men had to work the pumps while the storm continued. . . . There were still some people sick, and some died, too. . . . We continued on our course till we could see Santo Domingo. Here we were becalmed for a few days, and it grew quite warm. One night the wind arose again, and we sailed on till we could see the island of Cuba. . . . When we arrived at Galveston, all our boxes, trunks, cases, and baggage were opened and investigated. Since we had no articles of value, we were not obliged to pay duty. . . . Our boxes were once more closed, and we had to wait till our goods were again loaded on a boat, which was to bring us to Houston. Having arrived there, we were not obliged to go by boat again, but by ox-carts. . . . All who could walk well went afoot, for with the ox-carts the trip did not go very quickly. At that time there was no railroad to take us where we wanted to go. Some of the families did not get any farther than New Ulm, Frelsburg, and Industry, because means and money did not reach any farther. They remained there for some time. Two men went ahead in order to find the place where we wanted to go. Karl Lehmann and J. Dube selected the Delaplain-Liga, where Serbin is now located. Before all that was bought and surveyed, quite a few months of the year 1855 had passed by. As soon as everything had been put in order, the people built their first log huts. Meanwhile Pastor Kilian was not idle, but instructed and confirmed children at New Ulm, where there were several families. . . . The congregation built a house for Pastor Kilian, two rooms, with a hall between. In that house, in 1856, Pastor Kilian started the school. In one room he lived with his family, and in the other school was held and services were conducted on Sunday, till the frame church was built. Later, after the Civil War, the stone church was built. Pastor Kilian lived in the log hut till his death." Thus far Mr. Teinert's interesting report.

Pastor Kilian's report agrees with the document given above in every essential point. He writes as follows: "I arrived with this congregation at Galveston on December 16 of last year [1854] and then made the trip with those in possession of some means, two hundred miles into the country, while the poorer ones had to look for work in Houston and elsewhere. Here, on Rabbs Creek, in Bastrop County, those who are well-to-do, who also paid the expense of the voyage for the poor, are about to buy a league of land [approximately 4,400 acres], so that also the poorer ones may be enabled to follow them into this new home. There is plenty of uninhabited land here, but on account of the difficulty of finding the real owner of a piece of land in Texas, the people were as yet not able to obtain land, so that for weeks they were obliged to live in shacks. My congregation

of immigrants has surely gone through many difficulties, although we had no serious storm during the voyage. We lost more than seventy persons [seventy-three] by death, largely through cholera, by which our company was attacked on its way through England. Even in Liverpool a few persons died. Yet we left Liverpool on September 26 in the large English double-decker *Ben Nevis*, five hundred and eighty souls in addition to the crew, since, besides our closed company, other passengers from Germany went along. But during the quiet crossing of the Irish Channel there were again so many deaths by cholera that we were held at quarantine in the harbor of Cork, Ireland, for three weeks. Our voyage from there to Galveston took eight and a half weeks. During this time a few more people died. But over here the people are enjoying good health, and they have also found those of their brethren who came over in 1853 enjoying good health."

In February, 1855, the formal purchase of a league of land was consummated, which was then divided among the individual families. Ninety-five acres were set aside for church and school purposes. The parsonage spoken of in the document above was now begun, to be finished after the close of an epidemic which wrought much havoc in the ranks of the colonists. There were also other trials which tested the faith of the newcomers; for during the first year of their occupation of the land it was too late to harvest a crop, and during the next years they experienced a terrible drought, which caused the grass to wither and even the rivers and creeks to dry up. Yet the immigrants testified that they had never been happier than during those first years, for the congregation was of one heart and of one soul, and the joy over the liberty that enabled them to live and believe according to the dictates of their own conscience, in keeping with the Word of God, outweighed all tribulations.

Gradually things improved, also in their material condition. In 1860 the colonists founded the post-office Serbin, meaning the Serbian place. The weather during the next years was more favorable; the people became used to the climate, soon enjoying the best of health; they were joined by others of the same faith and language; the congregation grew and prospered. The parsonage had already been enlarged, and since even that measure proved inadequate, a special church-building was erected. The report of the dedication of this church was made in *Der Lutheraner* by Pastor Kilian, which in the main reads as follows: "Fifty families of the local colony, which was founded by the Serbians, called by the Germans Wends, five years ago and which is constantly growing, have, in addition to the parsonage buildings (which were built under various tribulations) in the course of the last autumn [1859] erected a new frame church with a roof of carved cedar shingles. The building is fifty feet long, twenty-five feet wide, and fifteen feet to the roof. On October 10 the first material, not only for the church, but also for a cistern at the parsonage was delivered. . . . On November 11 the corner-stone of the church was laid, and on November 24 the buildings was raised. While the heads of families worked on the structure, the young men collected money for a new organ, which was installed in the church before Christmas and cost \$170. The young women paid for the altar ornament by voluntary contributions, the amount collected being \$40.

"The dedication took place on first Christmas Day. The procession, early in the morning, started from the parsonage, whose wing had till then served for church and school purposes, to the new church, while the bell was being rung and an appropriate hymn was sung, with the pastor in his vestments . . . and the church council at the head, then the young men and young women, and then the remaining people. Serbian [Wendic] singing and the liturgy, with organ accompaniment, opened the celebration. Hereupon the pastor delivered a preliminary address from the altar, in which it was said that the church now to be dedicated was the first Serbian church in Texas. After a short hymn the pastor, kneeling before the altar, offered up the dedicatory prayer in the Serbian language. Another hymn was sung. Then followed the Serbian sermon, delivered from the pulpit, on the epistle of Christmas Day. But since also so many of the Americans and Germans living in the neighborhood had come, it was necessary to have them hear something in their own tongues.



Teacher G. Kilian.

After a few stanzas of a German hymn with organ accompaniment had been sung, the pastor, from the altar, read an address intended for the Americans, composed by himself, his first attempt in the English language. Then followed another German hymn and thereupon a German sermon from the pulpit on the Gospel of Christmas Day. A German hymn with collect and benediction concluded the celebration.—We comfort ourselves, in spite of many obstacles of deficiency and tribulation that have not yet been overcome, with the promise of God: "In all places where I record My name I will come unto thee, and I will bless thee," Ex. 20, 24. Johann Kilian, Pastor."

Not only did the Serbian colony grow during the next years, but the entire neighborhood received accessions of immigrants. The church dedicated in 1859 soon became too small, so another one was begun in 1867 and dedicated in 1871. This was a stone structure. The old church was then used as a schoolhouse. Some twenty-five hundred souls came into the neighborhood during these years. Of these, about 600 were in the first congregation, others were gathered in places near and far, so that in the course of time six congregations were established in addition to the mother church. Much of the pioneer work was done by Pastor Kilian. He had one mission-station in New Ulm, Austin Co., forty miles from Serbin, where he preached every five weeks, making the round trip on horseback invariably in one day. He also preached in Louis Settlement (now Swiss Alp), located in Fayette County, twenty-five miles from Serbin, in Roeders Mill near Shelby, Austin Co., and in Bastrop, twenty miles from Serbin. In addition, he taught school for eleven years. He certainly was not afraid of work!

Pastor Kilian's family life was very happy. He had married Maria Groeschel in 1848, who he moved from Saxony to Prussia, and for more than thirty-two years she shared joys and sorrows with him. One son,

Gerhard, became teacher in Serbin in 1872. Another son, Herman, became his father's successor in 1883. The aged pastor died on September 12, 1884, following an apoplectic stroke.

The Lutherans of Serbin were connected with the Missouri Synod from the beginning, and Pastor Kilian joined it in the year 1855. His first attendance at a meeting of Synod was in 1860. Since there was no railroad from Texas to St. Louis at that time, he had to make the trip to Galveston, from there by boat to New Orleans, and then up the river by steamer to St. Louis. The first official of synod to visit the Serbian colony was Pastor Herman Fick, who went down there in 1867. Upon his return he brought along with him Pastor Kilian's son Gerhard, who later became teacher in the school founded by his father.

Such is, in a brief sketch, the history of the Wendic Lutheran colony in Texas, a story of great tribulations and trials, but also of great blessings. As early as 1861 the first German Lutherans joined the congregation, thereby adding a second language to that used by the pastor. Last year, on August 18, 1929, the congregation celebrated its diamond jubilee. The Serbian language was discontinued in public services in 1920, but the German language is still used, and English work is being done here as elsewhere. No matter what language is used, the most important thing, according to the confession of the congregation, is to remain steadfast in the apostles' doctrine.

Early Lutherans and Lutheran Churches in America.

By KARL KRETZMANN, Orange, N. J.

III. The Beginnings in New York.

2. A Large Parish.

The following is a copy, in the original, of the *Grondbrief*, the oldest deed held by any Lutheran Church in America: —

"Anthony Colve wegens hare hoo: Moo: de heeren Staeten generaal, der Vernigde Nederlanden & syn doorl. hoogheyt den heere prince van Orangie Etc: Govern: generl: van Niew Nederlant, Allen degenen die desen sullen sien ofte hooren lesen Saluyt doen to weten, Alsoo de huy-singe & Erv von d'Luterse gemeente gelegen buyten de ffortification der steede Niew Orangie by't placaat von den 16 octob^r Laestleden om sufficante redenen breder int selve placaat geexpresseert is afgerooyt & geordon-neert 'Splaeft te werden to 's goedinge von welcke 's plaestsenge aen de Luterse gemeente voorengemelt byde gedaene Taxatie van onpartyduge weder is toegleyt seecker Erf geteekent N^o 5 geleegen binnen desr Steede ten westen de Breede Wegh in de Tuyn voordesen toebehoort hebbende de West Indische Conpagnie tusschen het Erff van George Cobbet & de Cingel of Stadts Wall breedt voor aende Straet als mede aghter aende westsyde vier roe . . . hout voeten lanck weder syts vier roe . . . gelycke voeten welcke voors: Erve Ingefolge van deselve gedane Taxatie in eenen rechten waeren & vryen Eygendom wert opgedragen & getransporteert aende Luterse gemeente voorengemelt. Met Expresse Conditien & voor-

woerden dat de Luterse gemeente voorengemelt. Met Expresse Condi-
 tion & voorwaerden dat de Luterse gemeente vorengemelt of die naermals
 haer actie mogte Skrygen haer E: Moo: de heeren patronen onder de
 souverainiteyt van haer hoo: Moo; de heeren Staeten generl; der Vee-
 nigde Nederl. & syn doorl. hoogheyt den heere prince van Orangien voor
 haere [***] hoghheden sullen Erkennen & hier haeren govern: generl. in
 alles te gehoorsamen als goede Ingesetenen Schuldigh syn te doen & haer
 wyders onderwerpen sodanige lasten & gereghtheden als over alle Inge-
 setenen naedes Lants noot & gelegentheyte bevonden sal werden te behooren
 Constituerende [. . .] sulen de Luterse gemeente voorengemelt ofte
 ['twelck] naermals dese haere actie soude mogen [overkommen] inde
 Reele & actuele possessie van 't voors [. . .] orcond der waerheyt desen
 onderteect [t' Fort Wille]m Hendrick ady desen 22^{ste} May [1674]
 "(was geteekent:)"

"A: Colve."

(From the original in the archives of St. Matthew's Church, New York.
 Translation in A. L. Graebner, *Geschichte der Lutherischen Kirche in Ame-
 rika*, p. 66. The Dutch spelling is not consistent and sometimes faulty.
 Brackets indicate where MS. was destroyed.)

On this piece of ground, now valued at millions of dollars, there was
 erected that same year a small wooden church-building together with a par-
 sonage adjoining it on the north side. Here the Lutherans of New York
 and vicinity worshipped for more than half a century.

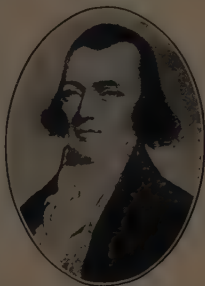
While Domine Arensius was busy with the building of the church,
 Magister Fabricius and his wife returned from the Delaware. From all
 appearances, Fabricius tried to usurp the functions of a Lutheran minister;
 but his scandalous life, his frequent quarrels with his wife, and his repeated
 appearances as a defendant in court for infractions of the law precluded
 whatever influence he might otherwise have had. Early in 1674 he had
 married, without a license and without the proclamations required by law,
 one Ralph Doxy and Mary Van Harris, and the fiscal had demanded that
 "he be brought to the place where justice is commonly meted out, to be
 severely flogged and finally from henceforth forever to be banished from
 the jurisdiction of this government, *cum expensis*." Upon the Magister's
 plea of "ignorance of the present [Dutch] customs and that he had been
 deceived by the witnesses" and his petition for "a consoling absolution in
 order that his sorrowful and sick soul might soon be comforted," the court
 remitted the punishment, but decreed that he should be forbidden to offi-
 ciate as a minister in the province for a whole year. In spite of this he
 petitioned the government for a license at least to baptize. This petition
 was denied on April 18, 1674.

On February 24 his wife had brought him before "the worshipful
 Heeren President, Burgomaster and schepens of the city of New Orange"
 (New York) for forcing her to sleep in the garret of her own house on
 Broadway while he occupied the rest of the dwelling. He was ordered to
 give up the keys of the house to her. Another woman complained that
 he had beaten her in her own house. On July 11 he had forced his way
 into his wife's house, had pushed a certain woman named Barentje with
 her spinning-wheel off the road, had spoken disrespectfully of the magis-
 trates, and resisted arrest. For all this he was condemned to a fine of one

hundred florins and to ask the court's pardon, and costs. These escapades of the restless Magister surely did not gain him a following among the Lutherans, and every one breathed a sigh of relief when he made his way back to the South River, where we shall meet him again under more favorable circumstances.

In the mean time Arensius went about his work in a quiet and efficient manner. Though many of the former Lutheran residents of New Orange (New York) had moved from the town, Arensius not only managed to keep the small remaining flock together, but like a faithful shepherd he also followed those who had gone out into the wilderness, especially along the Hudson River. The largest group of these was in Albany and vicinity. One of the judges of the court at Albany, Volckert Janssen, had signed a call for a Lutheran minister from Amsterdam in 1653. In 1656 the Lutherans were forbidden to hold meetings by Vice-Governor de Decker, an echo of Stuyvesant's edict of February 1, 1656, against the "conventicles" of the Lutherans. Fabricius had visited Albany in 1669, but by rash acts had forfeited his right to minister to the Lutherans there. It was only in the time of Arensius that the Lutherans began to receive regular ministrations and a strong Lutheran consciousness was created. For instance, when in January, 1674, the Reformed grave-digger Roosenboom claimed the right to bury all the dead, including the Lutherans, and to collect the fees therefor, "those of the Augsburg Confession represented with due respect . . . that they henceforth may bury their dead without notifying Heer Roosenboom, but employ their own *voorleser* and no one else." This petition to the court was signed by Bernhardus Arensius, V.D.M., Jan Heinderik de Bruyn, a Swede, Jochem Wessels, a baker, and Hans Hendricksen. Some years later the Lutheran blacksmith Meyndert Frederickse and his wife, whose son Johan was a godchild of Mrs. Arensius, accused the Reformed minister, Gideon Schaets, of proselyting and "sneaking through the houses like the devil; adding, 'Our domine [Arensius] does not do so.'" Meyndert and his wife were willing to apologize in court for having compared the old domine to the devil, "always excepting the dispute out of which this case arose, namely, universal grace." And Hans Dreper, one of the Lutheran petitioners of 1657, testified "that Gabriel's wife stated that Domine Schaets said at her house that whoever taught that Christ died alike for all men taught a false and devilish doctrine."

To these Lutherans on the Upper Hudson, Arensius and his successors



Martin Hoofman,
ancestor of Governor John
Thompson Hoffman of New
York, who collected funds
for the first Lutheran church
edifice on Manhattan.

Bernhardus Arensius

ministered for almost sixty years, usually spending the winter months in the northern part of the parish. When Arensius, in November, 1674, made ready to go north again, his pass was once more made out in English and signed by Governor Andros. He was given permission "to Officiate there as Pastor of the Augustine or Lutheran Congregation, as formerly under the English Government, without any manner of Lett, hindrance or molestacon whatsoever." The Lutherans at Albany had also erected a small wooden church, probably early in 1674, on what is now Pearl Street, between Howard and Beaver streets. (*Early Records of Albany County*, p. 100.) The plot of ground which had been occupied for a number of years by the church and a cemetery was sold to Albert Bratt, Meyndert Frederickse, Anthony Lisenard and Carsten Frederickse, for the congregation, March 28, 1680, "the first and last penny" having been paid therefor. There was also a house for the domine. (Joel Munsell, *Manual of the First Lutheran Church in the City of Albany*.)*

* The claim has been made even in recent times that not St. Matthew's Church of New York, but the First Lutheran Church of Albany is the oldest Lutheran church in America. "St. Matthew's Lutheran Church, now located on Washington Heights [New York], . . . claims to be the oldest Lutheran church in America. . . . We would deduct nothing from the glory of Old St. Matthew's, but there is a church in Albany that claims its birth (*sic*) to be 1644." (New York Letter in the *Lutheran*, Nov. 25, 1926, p. 22.) If the writer refers to the *Reformed* church of Albany, — that was founded in 1642. But he evidently refers to the Lutheran church there. *As to New York*: "The congregation of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession of Faith" on Manhattan Island was in existence in 1648, when they called a minister from Amsterdam (*Records of the Lutheran Consistory at Amsterdam*, quoted by Dr. Nicum in *Papers of the American Society of Church History*, 1910, p. 85); was served by Gutwasser, 1657—59 (*Eccl. Records of the State of New York*, Vol. I, pp. 405 ff.); was chartered by Governor Nicolls, Dec. 6, 1664 (original in possession of St. Matthew's Church, New York); possessed a church-building on the exact site of the tower of the present Trinity Episcopal Church on Broadway before 1670 (I. N. Phelps Stokes, *Iconography of Manhattan Island*); and has had an unbroken existence since 1648. *As to Albany*: There were Lutherans in the Upper Hudson Valley during the Thirty Years' War. They were forbidden to hold service in 1656 by Vive-Governor de Decker. The first Lutheran pastor to visit Albany was Fabricius, in 1669. During the time of Arensius, about 1674, a small church was erected. Albany was a *filiale* of New York until 1731. After that it was served from Looneburgh (Athens) by Berkenmeyer, later by Sommer from Schoharie and other itinerant preachers. There was not a single resident Lutheran pastor in Albany before the Revolution. Whatever records are extant of ministrations to the Lutherans of Albany are found in the archives of the churches at New York, Athens, and in the journal of Domine Peter Nicholas Sommer, of Schoharie. Before 1725 their church-building had fallen to pieces, and there were not enough interested Lutherans there to rebuild it. Sporadic Lutheran services were for many years conducted in private houses; and the Lutherans practically gave up their identity as a Lutheran Church when they united with the Episcopal Church in support of the Anglican rector ("We paid £ 50 a year as our share of the salary of the common minister") and worshiped in the Episcopal church (*Minutes of the Albany Church*, March, 1786). Joel Munsell, the greatest authority on the early history of Albany, writes: "We have not been able to ascertain the precise date of the first establishment of a Lutheran church in Albany. . . . Probably as early as 1668 they had an organized church here. . . . The Lutherans seem to have succeeded in gathering a church here before 1670. . . . We do not learn any-

History of the Stockbridge Indians and Our Missions Among Them.

By E. M. BIEGENER, St. Louis, Mo., former missionary among the Stockbridge Indians in Wisconsin.

II.

After Mr. Sergeant's death the charge of the mission devolved for a time upon Mr. Woodbridge; but in July, 1751, Jonathan Edwards became pastor of the Stockbridge church. Few New England churches would at that time have offered him their pulpit.

"It would require a special treatise to explain just why and do justice to both parties. Edwards was a metaphysician, much inclined to mistake the results of his own subtle and abstract reasonings for theology. In personal piety he was a mystic. Both these facts seem to have led him to insist upon evidence of consciousness of the change by which one becomes a Christian. In this respect, and in others, his work was like that of Wesley and Whitefield. Yet we hasten to add—for writing on these subjects is like walking on eggs without breaking them—that none of these great revivalists meant to keep out of the Church any one who was really a Christian, whether or not he could tell how he became one. Naturally, Edwards's views brought him into conflict with a large number of persons who stood related to the Church by what was called the 'half-way covenant.' These, though not communicants, were of Christian belief, correct life, had themselves been baptized in infancy, and desired that ordinance for their children. However, Edwards's difficulties at Northampton, whence he was dismissed, were in large part of a practical sort, and belong, properly, to the history of the parish and to his own biography." (J. N. Davidson.)

During his pastorate the French and Indian War was at its height. Friends thought that Mr. Edwards was in danger and advised him to seek a safer place than Stockbridge. But he declined to leave his flock. His people were steadfast friends of the colonists and the English. Almost every man among them capable of bearing arms went with Governor Shirley in 1755 on his expedition against Niagara. They rendered most

thing further of the history of this church during the lapse of nearly a century; except that in 1714 the Rev. Thomas Barclay was holding Episcopal services in 'a small old chappell,' belonging to the Lutheran congregation, at unreasonable hours. . . . There are no church records extant to account for these things or giving any information as to the origin or organization of the church. . . . The records of the church extend no farther back than 1784." (*Manual of the First Lutheran Church in the City of Albany*). The present First Lutheran Church of Albany was incorporated on August 26, 1784.—Many references in the old records to the Lutherans at "Albany" pertain to the large Lutheran settlements in Albany County (then much larger than now), at Loonenburgh (Athens), Claverack, Newtown, etc.—That the New York church is the oldest Lutheran church in America was established by the sainted Dr. Graebner about forty years ago, when he brought to light the records which were supposed to have perished in the great fire of 1776; and the claim to greater antiquity has been conceded to the New York church by Dr. Schmauck (*History of the Luth. Church in Pennsylvania*, p. 112), Dr. Nicum (*New York Min.*, p. 1), and M. L. Canup (*Lutheran*, 1914, p. 195).

efficient service. For the protection of the settlers of Western Massachusetts the little Indian settlement at Stockbridge was better than a fort.

Not only were there "fightings without" while Mr. Edwards was at Stockbridge, there was something worse than "fears within." There was an "Indian ring" there. Of this Ephraim Williams (senior) was head and purse. To understand the mischief done, we must return to the history of Mr. Sergeant's "charity" school. It flourished notwithstanding the death of its founder. It was the means of bringing to Stockbridge Oneidas, Mohawks, and a few Tuscaroras to educate their children. But Williams quarreled with their teacher, Mr. Hawley (also with Mr. Woodbridge), and usurped the management of the school. In disgust the Oneidas withdrew their children and returned to New York. Meanwhile rumors reached the commissioners of the mischief that was being done, and Mr. Edwards was summoned to meet them at Boston. This man, "whose mind was so ab-



The Two Oldest Members of Our Mission
Among the Stockbridges.

stracted from temporalities as to be unable to tell the number of his cows," nevertheless was successful in vanquishing the Williams "ring," and soon thereafter the chief evil-doer removed from Stockbridge. But the "mischief done was irreparable. The Oneida pupils had gone and refused to return; the Mohawks lingered a little longer and then left also. Mr. Hawley followed them and renewed his labors on the New York reservation until the outbreak of the Revolutionary War." Thus the school, which in 1750 enrolled sixty pupils, seems to have been broken up.

The Indian parishioners of Mr. Edwards became greatly attached to him and his family and he to them. But though he made their language the subject of a treatise, he never learned to preach in it. Those who have heard in a polyglot assembly an address delivered in one language and translated into another will know how greatly the effectiveness of his work must have been lessened. But, true to his great character, he was faithful to his humble charge and would not leave it, even at the invitation to become president of Princeton, until advised by what was practically a council of ministers that it was his duty to do so.

Edwards's letter to the trustees of the college is a curious bit of reading

and gives the impression that the writer of it was sadly deficient in the sense of humor. He seems to have lacked also, what very few men do lack, a sufficiently high estimate of himself. Thus he says: "My defects unfit me for such an undertaking, many of which are generally known, besides others of which my heart is conscious. I have a constitution, in many respects, peculiarly unhappy, attended with flaccid solids, scarce fluids, and a low tide of spirits, often occasioning a kind of childish weakness and contemptibleness of speech, presence and demeanor, with a disagreeable dullness and stiffness, much unfitting me for conversation, but more especially for the government of a college."

Seldom did he shed tears in the presence of others. But when this decision of his friends was made known to him, he wept. Scarcely had he assumed the duties of his new office when he died, March 22, 1758.

No doubt Edwards found the retirement of Stockbridge favorable for his theological and metaphysical studies. There he produced four of his treatises, one of which is his best-known work, *The Freedom of the Human Will*.

In the church of the wilderness Edwards wrought,
Shaping his creed at the forge of thought,
And with Thor's own hammer welded and bent
The iron links of his argument,
Which strove to grasp in its mighty span
The purpose of God and the fate of man.
Yet faithful still in his daily round
To the weak and the poor and the sin-sick found,
The schoolman's lore and the casuist's art
Drew warmth and life from his fervent heart.
Had he not seen in the solitudes
Of his deep and dark Northampton woods
A vision of love about him fall?

Whittier, in *The Preacher*.

Stephen West, D.D., succeeded President Edwards. He was "introduced to the town" in November, 1758, and ordained on the 13th of June, 1759. Not many years afterwards the story of the camel that got his nose into the tent found in the case of the Muh-he-ka-ne-ok another application. The white population of Stockbridge became more numerous than the Indian. In 1775 Dr. West entrusted the care of the Indian portion of his flock to Mr. John Sergeant, son of the original founder of the settlement.

This was the time of the American Revolution. The Stockbridges took sides with our ancestors. On the 30th of June of that same year (1775) letters and speeches from the Stockbridge Indians were laid before Congress and read. The Committee on Indian Affairs was directed to prepare "proper talks" to the different tribes of Indians. It was also resolved "that the securing and preserving the friendship of the Indian nations appears to be a subject of the utmost moment to the colonies." In the memorable year 1776, August 7, Washington wrote to Timothy Edwards, then Commissioner for Indian Affairs, on the subject of employing the Stockbridges in the service of the United States. Some of them "fought through all the war, threaded the wilderness with Arnold to Canada, aided in compelling the surrender of Burgoyne, and made the Jersey campaigns with Washington." "The Stockbridges," says the British Lieutenant-Colonel Simcoe, writing of an affair in which more than thirty of them

lost their lives, "about sixty in number, excellent marksmen, had just joined Mr. Washington's army." They were under command of one of their number, Daniel (or Abraham) Ninham, who fell with his men. This skirmish, or rather slaughter, took place 1778, August 31, near White Plains, N. Y., where "Mr." Washington was then commanding.

Thus the Stockbridges did not content themselves with sending speeches to Congress nor with addressing the Massachusetts Legislature, as one of their chiefs did in 1779. A large proportion of their most promising young men were killed in battle. Perhaps the tribe never recovered from losses of men, homes, and character then suffered. We should remember this if we are inclined to think of its present condition almost with contempt. Nor should we forget that too often then, as in later years, drunkenness was made easy for them. At the close of the war, apparently after the warriors had returned home, a barbecue was prepared for them by command of Washington. Whisky was furnished, even though their pastor presided at one of their tables. This suggestion of what camp and social life then was, prepares us for the sorrowful statement that many of those who survived the dangers of war fell victims to the habits of idleness and intemperance. In these ways many got into debt to their white neighbors and lost their lands. So the tribe sought a new home. They removed to a tract of land in New York, part of which was in Madison County and another part in Oneida County. Hither they came at the invitation of the Oneidas, whom, it is said, they had once saved from a powerful enemy. This place was secured to them perhaps when, October 24, 1774, the Oneidas gave land (fourteen miles south of where the city of Utica, N. Y., now stands) also to fragments of various tribes (Narragansetts, Pequots, Montauks, Mohegans, and Nanticokes). Thomas Commuck, one of the Brothertowns, adds to this list the Farmingtons, wherever they were. (See *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. IV, p. 292.) October 20, 1775, he organized a new "nation," called the Brothertowns. In this westward movement these preceded the Muh-he-ka-ne-oks, who did not come until after the Revolution. Then the little band of ninety, with whom the elder Sergeant began his missionary labor, had increased to four hundred. A very few remained at Stockbridge, no longer the home of the Muh-he-ka-ne-oks, though it had been theirs for almost half a century.

Near the Brothertown settlement and about one hundred sixty miles from their former home the Muh-he-ka-ne-oks built a village which they named New Stockbridge. Thither the tribe removed 1783 to 1788. But it was in 1785, before their departure from their Massachusetts home, that sixteen Indian members of the old Stockbridge church formed a new one, which removed first to New York and years later to Wisconsin. Mr. Sergeant hesitated to go with his people, but went the next year. Then he found that Rev. Samson Occum had gained favor with many of the Stockbridges.

This Rev. Occum was a man of such power as a preacher that he was once sent to Great Britain to solicit funds for More's Charity School, an institution which later developed into Dartmouth College. While in England, he had the honor of preaching before King George III. More perhaps than to any other one man the credit of organizing the Brothertown "nation" is due to Occum.

Rev. Occum died July 14, 1792, and the division which followed Mr. Sergeant's coming was healed. The "Honorable Society in Scotland," which had generously paid arrearages incurred during the war, again helped in supporting the pastor. Some aid from this source was continued until after the tribe removed to Wisconsin, and the church was under the care of Rev. Cutting Marsh.

In 1792 the Stockbridges and their neighbors, the Six Nations, were invited to Philadelphia by President Washington "that measures might be concerted to impart such of the blessings of civilization as might suit their condition." The interview between their representatives and the President seems to have been mutually pleasant.

In 1796 they had a visit from Dr. Jedidah Morse, father of the inventor of the telegraph, then one of the trustees of the still existing (Boston) Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians. At that time the population of New Stockbridge was about three hundred. None were professed pagans, though only about thirty were members of the church. About two-thirds of the men and nine-tenths of the women were considered industrious. In this year a white man was convicted of bringing liquor into the "nation," an act contrary to tribal law. Soon after, through Mr. Sergeant's influence, the Legislature of New York passed an act forbidding the sale of liquor to these Indians. For his action in this matter the worthy pastor was bitterly persecuted. The term "white heathen," which he uses more than once, probably acquired vivid significance at this time. His people were tempted and ill-treated. While Indians sought to keep the Sabbath, white men violated it. Articles would be pressed upon the Indians in the way of sale, and later those who supposed themselves to be honest purchasers would be arrested as thieves, and the possession of what they had bought would be used as evidence against them.

It may be, as old President Dwight of Yale noted in his journal of "travels," September 20, 1798, when he visited their former home in Massachusetts, "the body of them have, in many respects, sustained a very imperfect character." However, when we remember the good man's high standard of character and read his other statement, that "several of them have been eminent for their understanding and more for their piety," we do not doubt that they compared favorably with their white neighbors.

There occurred in 1798 a remarkable accession to the Church. A member of the Munsee tribe, seeking the knowledge of the true God, had left wife and home and come to the Stockbridges. He was baptized and given the appropriate name of Abraham.

In 1802 the Stockbridges sent a delegation to the Delawares, whom, according to Indian fashion, they called their grandfathers, and to some other tribes, to urge them to accept the Gospel. Regarding this, Mr. Sergeant writes: —

"A council was held at Wappecommehkoke, on the banks of the White River, by Delawares and the delegates of the Moheakunuk nation. The former then accepted all the proposals made by the latter, among which was civilization, 'of which,' said the chief (Tatepahqsect), 'we take hold with both hands.'"

The Stockbridges brought to New York the Puritan institution of Thanksgiving. For the most part, while there, they taught and sustained

their own schools. Several of their young people were sent away from home to a higher institution of learning. One of these, a pupil in a "select school," kept by Miss Nancy Royce, of Clinton, N. Y., became the first schoolmistress in Wisconsin.

Though at first the Indians in this new settlement, owing to the distance from the whites, were less exposed to temptation than before, and though they and Mr. Sergeant fought hard against their great enemy, strong drink, the better men of the younger generation came to feel the need of another removal. In this movement Solomon U. Hendrick, John Metoxen, and perhaps Austin E. Quinney were leaders. To free their tribe from the allurements of the white man's grog-shop, and for other reasons, they urged removal to Indiana, where a tract of land on the White River had been given by the Miamis more than a century before to the Stockbridges and their kinsmen, the unfortunate Delawares. Here for many years there had been a settlement of the latter tribe which about 1818 numbered eight hundred souls. The title of the Stockbridges to this land was, in a carefully guarded manner, attested by President Jefferson, December 21, 1808.

In 1810 and for some years later one of the Stockbridges, Hendrick Aupaumut, a soldier in the American Army at the time of Burgoyne's surrender, was in the White River country, where he was one of the most effective opponents of Tecumseh and his brother Elskwatawa, the "prophet," in the war in which General (afterward President) Harrison won his military fame. In the War of 1812, which to that part of the West was merely a continuance of one already existing, Aupaumut, who dropped his Indian surname for Hendrick, took the American side, and became—if he not already was—an officer in our army. His son Solomon, named above, succeeded the father about in the year 1817, once a worthy man, but in his later years a victim of the vice of drunkenness, as chief of the tribe, but, dying, was in turn followed by John Metoxen.

In the spring of 1817 the Stockbridges were made uneasy by the report that the land to which they had a claim had been sold by the Delawares. But these, in answer to a letter of inquiry, denied the charge, adding: "When we rise in the morning, we have our eyes fixed toward the way you are to come, expecting to see you coming to sit down by us as a nation."

Accordingly, some of the Stockbridges prepared for removal. Two or three families went that year. In June, 1818, Mr. Sergeant thus wrote to Dr. Morse: "About five families of my people will start for the White River in three weeks. But they are still troubled by reports that the government of the State of Indiana intends to purchase the Indian lands."

Others were added to the number of those who wished to form a new settlement. Mr. Sergeant collected the whole tribe on Friday, July 24 of that year, "with the view to have them present at the forming of a church from their tribe" of those "who, with a number of others of the tribe, were about to remove and form a new settlement." On that day or the following a church of eleven members was duly organized. It was apparently Congregational and, if so, was probably the first of that denomination in Indiana, as it certainly was in Wisconsin. But in accordance with the "plan of union" between Presbyterians and Congregationalists it was commended to the Presbytery of Ohio, according to Miss Electa Jones.

But this Pilgrim church was not to find an end of its wandering as soon as it had hoped for. In September we read in the *Panoplist* of their receiving the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper with white brethren in Ohio. In December Mr. Sergeant wrote: "The families left in August, consisting of a third part of my church-members and a quarter part of the tribes, — in all from sixty to seventy souls from Oneida. They did not set out on their journey so soon by a month as they intended; and when they arrived, the lands had been sold. The poor Delawares had been forced to sell their lands." This news reached the emigrants while on their way. Thereupon some turned back, but John Metoxen and others, perhaps forty in number, pushed on and made their home in Ohio and Indiana for somewhat less than five years. While here, they showed the vigor of their religious training by holding meetings on Sundays, in which the reading of *Scott's Commentary* took the place of sermons. We learn that in May, 1819, our immigrants were so near Piqua, O., that the [Presbyterian] pastor there often preached to them. As white men would be under like circumstances, they were sadly divided as to what was best to be done. "At length it was determined to unite at White River and endeavor to regain the land by application to the Government. But their efforts were unavailing, and sickness wasted both their numbers and their spirits."

Soon, no doubt, they turned their eyes to Green Bay. It is said the Stockbridges had a century-old invitation from their kindred tribes to come and dwell with them. Of much more practical worth than this were the efforts then made in their behalf by Dr. Morse and others.

Under commission from John C. Calhoun, then Secretary of War, and also under the auspices of the Northern Missionary Society of New York, Jedidah Morse, D.D., a Congregational minister, then of New Haven, Conn., a steadfast friend of the Muh-he-ka-ne-oks, came West in the summer of 1820. He preached at Fort Howard, July 9, the first Protestant sermon in what is now Wisconsin. One of his objects was to find here, if possible, a home for the Stockbridges. These are to be counted among the "New York Indians" who in 1821 and 1822 sent hither delegations to secure from the Winnebagoes and the Menomenees places for homes. After a long time, much negotiation, and considerable pressure in their behalf from the United States Government the "New York Indians" finally secured land on and near the Fox River and Lake Winnebago.

With the delegation of 1822 some of the Stockbridges of New York had come as immigrants. These settled that autumn at Grand Kaukaulin (now South Kaukauna). To this place John Metoxen and his party from Indiana came that year or, according to A. G. Ellis, in 1823. In this statement Mr. Ellis probably made an error which he himself helps to correct in Volume II of the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, where he tells us that "the small immigrant party of some [about] fifty of the Stockbridges, which came on this year, located late in the fall at Grand Kakalin." But these apparently did not come with the delegation mentioned above. It is my opinion that they came from Indiana, not from New York, and Mr. Ellis gives the year of their arrival as 1822. The homeless wanderers in the White River country would be anxious enough to come to a place which they could call their own. That having been secured, it is probable that with its attendant company, in which, it may be, there were at least

some of the Munsees, the church of the pilgrimage under the leadership of John Metoxen came from Indiana to the Fox River country in the autumn of 1822. On their way, after reaching Lake Michigan, these poor seekers of a home went partly by canoes and partly on foot. "They drove their cattle along the shore, camping wherever night overtook them. They swam their cattle across the streams. They had great difficulty in getting them to cross the river at Chicago, but finally one large animal, bolder than the rest, plunged in, and the others followed." It would be a bold ox that would swim across the Chicago River in these days!

Thus came to Wisconsin its first Puritan Church. Neither minister nor priest was there. But these spiritual children of Sergeant and Edwards did not forget their God in the wilderness. "They kept up their meetings here also."

They had a worthy leader in Metoxen, whose knowledge of Scripture is shown in a letter written December 2, 1823, from "Cades, Green Bay" (probably Grand Kaukaulin), to John Sergeant, his old pastor. Mentioning the arrival of a new band of Indians, he says: "Our brethren appear to be quite different from what they were when I first saw them. I trust that some of them are choosing God for their portion, remembering that He is the only Source of true happiness for the immortal soul and grieving because they had forsaken the only King of the universe. It is true indeed that the soul was made for God; it came from God and can never be happy but in returning to him again. Thus we may have reason to believe that the Spirit of the Lord is moving upon them, saying: 'Arise ye and depart, for this is not your rest. If ye, then, be risen with Christ, seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth on the right hand of God.'"

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Published quarterly by the Concordia Historical Institute, 801 De Mun Ave., St. Louis, Mo. Prof. W. G. Polack, Editor-in-Chief. Prof. Th. Graebner and Prof. R. W. Heintze, Associate Editors.

The editors of this periodical assume no responsibility for views expressed in articles other than their own.

Literary contributions bearing on the history of the Lutheran Church, particularly of the synods composing the Synodical Conference of North America, should be submitted to the Editor-in-Chief, Prof. W. G. Polack, 801 De Mun Ave., St. Louis, Mo.